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Hugh Nibley and Classical Scholarship
Eric D. Huntsman

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HUGH NIBLEY AND CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Eric D. Huntsman

Personal Experiences with the Works and Figure of Hugh Nibley

Let me begin by telling you a little bit about myself via Brother Nibley. I have come to understand that has become somewhat part of the genre of speaking about Brother Nibley—to share Nibley anecdotes and how you know him.

Now, here I am considerably handicapped because I'm a little bit younger than some of my colleagues who were his students. I started BYU in 1983 when Professor Nibley was already emeritus. But I did get one class with him in the fall of 1984. At the time I was in a period of academic crisis. I had had a head-on collision with calculus, my dreams of becoming a medical doctor were crumbling around me, and I had to do something else.

I had one more semester remaining before my mission, so I decided to take a Greek class, which I'll talk about in a moment, from Wilfred Griggs. As I looked through the honors catalog, I also found listed a Pearl of Great Price class from Hugh Nibley. Now, I had read some of Hugh Nibley's works, and I had always been interested in the kinds of things he wrote about. I had read his *Approach to the Book of Mormon*, *Since Cumorah*, and some of his other books in high school, so I signed up for this class that was *supposed* to be about the Pearl of Great Price. I say "supposed to be" because lecture after lecture proved to be about anything but. We were just as likely to hear about plate tectonics and catastrophic extinction, both of which he maintained were connected to the Creation story



Figure 1. "I signed up for this class that was supposed to be about the Pearl of Great Price."²⁹

somehow. I remember one day he spoke on and on about the law of entropy in physics—how if it weren't for the Atonement of Jesus Christ, entropy would grind the universe to a halt.

Or he would talk on and on about what I termed "Mud Age Mesopotamia." I suppose that's an unfair characterization. I'm a classicist, so I was already prejudiced to think that everything good was Greek and Roman. So something as early as Bronze Age Mesopotamia was far beyond my ken. When I was in grad school and had colleagues

in my ancient history program that were doing cuneiform—the stuff that Paul does looked like chicken scratch to me—the earliest period that was possibly interesting to me was Bronze Age Aegean. So anything earlier than that was Mud Age Mesopotamia.

I remember Nibley's midterm. I don't remember what the questions were, but I remember getting the blue book back. We only had three or four questions to answer, and mine came back with a less than stellar grade. There were only two classes I got a B plus in while I was in college, and one of them was in Nibley's Pearl of Great Price class, and I still don't know why because when my blue book came back with his comments, his marginalia were in hieroglyphics and Arabic! So what I had done wrong was unclear. I also remember our final exam, which was to read Spencer Kimball's article "The False Gods We Worship"¹ and write an essay on it, which actually was a very, very good exercise, so I do remember it. So now you've heard the good and the bad of Brother Nibley.

I mean, the good was that he was obviously brilliant, and so we wanted to come feed from the source to taste that brilliance. But the bad was that he had a very stream-of-consciousness kind of lecture style. Whatever was interesting to him at the moment was what we talked about that day, even if it was only notionally

connected to the Pearl of Great Price. Beyond that class, most of my experience with Brother Nibley was derivative—that is to say, *my* teachers were *his* students.

The Continuing Influence of Hugh Nibley and His Students

I just want to mention three quickly to introduce my topic, which is Brother Nibley and classical scholarship. I had three influential teachers who were students of his and were very formative in moving me in the direction that I went professionally. The first one was Wilfred Griggs. I had had a freshman honors colloquium from Wilfred, which was a six-hour, two-semester class that covered the history and literature of the entire world.

I didn't know it at the time, but looking at the entire world and all of its literature was the approach that Hugh Nibley took to almost every subject. For him, all knowledge was fair game. So in this intense introduction to history and literature, I came to appreciate Dr. Griggs quite a bit. Then later the next year, when I was in an academic crisis and trying to figure out something to do with my life, I saw that Wilfred was teaching an honors course intriguingly titled "Greek through the New Testament."

Now this is an awful confession to make, especially when I'm being filmed, but when I was an undergraduate, I did not like BYU religion classes. So when I saw this Greek through the New Testament class, which consisted of five credits of introductory Greek and two credits of New Testament, I thought, "I'll take this and get out of my New Testament requirement while at the same time I can take something interesting from Dr. Griggs."

So, taking an intense class from one of Dr. Nibley's protégés is actually how I came to fall in love with New Testament studies and ended up loving teaching religion. We learned enough Greek that semester to work our way through the Gospel of John, and at the end of that semester Wilfred sat me down before I left on my mission and asked me whether I had ever been interested in studying classics, which, as I said, is going to be the subject of our discussion today.

When I came back from my mission and started studying classical Greek and Latin at BYU, the two teachers that were the most influential on me were Douglas Phillips and John Hall, both

of whom had also been students of Dr. Nibley. Both of them would frequently share anecdotes about him that gave me a little more of a feeling of this personality that has intrigued so many of us.

Doug told me that when he came to BYU as an undergraduate he wanted to be like Hugh Nibley. So, when he went down for registration—in those days, you actually went to little desks where teachers sat with registration cards for each of their classes—there was Dr. Nibley, sitting with his stack of little cards. I'm not sure what you did with those cards—in my day we registered by touchtone phone and of course today our students do their registration on the internet. Anyway, Doug introduced himself to Dr. Nibley and said he wanted to study the ancient world. And Hugh just looked up and said, "Then study Greek and Latin," and looked back down again, ignoring Doug and everyone around him. And that's what Doug did, and Doug became one of our fine, fine Hellenists, one of the best classicists we've had here at BYU.

My other teacher, John Hall, is primarily a Roman historian. When he was here at BYU as an undergraduate in the '70s, John told me he took all the classes Brother Nibley taught. He told me an anecdote about Hugh that I've heard from other sources. I know we've had a session that's talked about Nibley folklore, and perhaps this story was told there, but the story wasn't just "folklore." I heard it from John himself.

He told me that he had a class from Brother Nibley that met every other day, but from one meeting to another, the topics never matched. He knew someone else who was in another of Hugh's classes that was in the middle of the day. John's class was in the morning, and he'd tell his friend what they had discussed. Soon he found out that his morning class, his friend's midday class, and a third one later in the day were all lining up with each other. Let me explain, Brother Nibley had three different classes—each treating different subjects, mind you—but Nibley would finish one class and go to the next and pick up with whatever he had finished talking about in the previous class. And then he would go to the third and pick up where he had stopped in the second. In other words, John finally found out that Brother Nibley would just go from class to class and keep teaching what he had been teaching regardless of



Figure 2. “Nibley would just go from class to class and keep teaching what he had been teaching regardless of whether students had only heard the beginning, the middle, or the end.”³⁰

whether students had only heard the beginning, the middle, or the end.

So Nibley would teach in the morning, take a break, go to the next class, pick up, take a break, and go to the next. And so John said, “I finally just changed my schedule and went to all three classes.” Now John is very much a classicist, very much into Greek and Latin and especially Roman history. Yet in recent years, we’ve joked that despite his training, he has since become a “born again New Testament” student. He has become very interested in New Testament studies, and he shared with me that that was because when he was an undergraduate all of the different classes he took from Brother Nibley awakened him to the power of the scriptural word and how ancient cultures help us understand it.

And so Hugh Nibley had a great influence on the three teachers who had such an influence on me. And as I said, all three of those were connected with this field of classical studies.

The Significance of Classical Studies

Before I start discussing Brother Nibley’s own work in classical studies, permit me to say a bit about that discipline since it may not be one that’s readily familiar to some of you. When we talk about something being a classic, perhaps what comes to mind is *Anne of Green Gables*, *Moby Dick*, or some other great, well-known piece of literature. In a broad sense, a work is a classic whenever it sets a

literary, aesthetic, or other standard. When a work, whether it be literature or art or music, transcends its own time period and its own culture, it's a classic.

But because so much of Western civilization and our culture is grounded in Greek and Roman civilization, traditionally, the study of classics has been the study of Greek and Latin language and literature, Greek and Roman history, and Greek and Roman culture. Brother Nibley, of course, did much more than just classics. He was, in a very real way, a polymath. Yet it is important to understand that classics played a significant role in his training.

When Westerners, at least, approach the ancient world, classics is important for two different reasons. First, in our cultural tradition, there are the two grand pillars of Western tradition: the Greco-Roman classical tradition on the one hand and the Judeo-Christian ethical tradition on the other. These are two cultural traditions that we understand intuitively because they're so much a part of our culture. Classics presents a very natural jumping-off place to study the ancient world. We can transition smoothly from modern Western culture to the Greek and Roman world. And then when we have become familiar with the ancient world through classics, we can then move into the rest of the ancient Near East, to Egypt or one of the other ancient civilizations.

Of course, the other reason why classics is important, not just for the study of Greece and Rome, is because the Greeks and the Romans left us a huge corpus of literature. More Greek and Roman texts survive than perhaps texts from any other culture. Some of this is mere serendipity—the Greeks and the Romans simply wrote a lot and they copied a lot. As a result, even when studying ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia or Persia, some of the important sources are classical sources.

And so with this foundation, we can at last shift to the topic of our discussion tonight, which is Hugh Nibley's classical scholarship.

Nibley's Own Classical Scholarship: Starting with His Dissertation

This is a topic that was new to me when I received this assignment, and in preparing for it, I have put together two big binders that I'll wave at you at different points in our discussion. This first one

contains a copy of his PhD dissertation, which I read this past Saturday. The other consists of all of Nibley's published works—articles and chapters—that treat classical topics, which I read the last two nights. So while I'm now very familiar with his work in classics, I was nonetheless a little panicky yesterday as tonight's lecture approached because I still didn't really have it in any kind of *Sitz im Leben*, if you will, or any kind of life context for these publications.

So I picked up Boyd Petersen's biography of Brother Nibley and read through it,² gleaning from it some context for what we are going to discuss as we walk through Brother Nibley's career this evening, hopefully showing how classical studies shaped and prepared him and how his own work in classical studies was instrumental in his later work in Latter-day Saint religious studies and apologetics.

According to Boyd Petersen's biography of his father-in-law, Hugh Nibley went to UCLA between 1930 and 1934, where he studied languages and history. He didn't study classics particularly, but Greek and Latin were still major focuses of what he did. He studied Arabic and a number of other languages as well. He then went to the University of California at Berkeley for graduate school between 1934 and 1938, where he studied the ancient world and studied from many leading experts.

Something that caught my attention as I was reading over this period of Nibley's life was that during his time there, a visiting professor by the name of Werner Jaeger (1888–1961) came to Berkeley. Jaeger was a leading German classicist who, as Nibley would later become, was a polymath, well versed in numerous disciplines. When he first came to the United States, he taught at the University of Chicago before he finally settled at Harvard, where in 1945, he wrote a massive three-volume work called



Figure 3. Werner Jaeger.³¹

The Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic Year-Cult



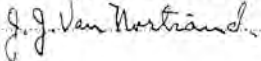
By
Hugh Nibley
A.S. (University of California at Los Angeles) 1934

DISSERTATION

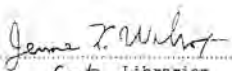
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Committee in Charge

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Figure 4. Signed title page from Nibley's 1938 UCLA dissertation.³²

Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture.³ In Greek, *paideia* refers to the training of a child, and in those three volumes, Werner Jaeger went through Greek culture, particularly how literature shaped it. For instance, he was the first one to discuss how young Greek boys received their moral education by reading Homer.

Jaeger's *Paideia* was a very, very influential work, so Jaeger's name popped off the page as I was reading what Boyd had written

about this in his Nibley biography. In it, he mentioned how Hugh Nibley and Werner Jaeger connected and would spend long hours in the evenings talking about Greek culture and the influences of the Near East. As I read that, I thought, “Aha, this is the Nibley whose works I’ve read, who knew so much about so many different cultures and was interested in how culture, and particularly literature, have affected human behavior.”

Brother Nibley’s dissertation was entitled “The Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic Year-Cult” (UCLA, 1939), and he completed it after his coursework in 1938. Dissertations tend to be very dense works, and as chance had it, my daughter pulled out my own dissertation Monday night. She’s only thirteen, so she didn’t leave it out for long! My dissertation is about four hundred pages long, and as we were just looking through it, I started remembering all the research that goes into a dissertation, often far more than appears in the final work. So one of the first things I always do whenever I look at a dissertation is to turn to the bibliography because there we get a good feel for the research that’s gone into the work.

Brother Nibley’s had two pages—and this was in the day of old typeset text, not computer-generated fonts—just of reference works. These were followed by six pages of classical primary sources and about seven pages of secondary sources. As I went through the list of classical sources, and I’ve been at this for a while now, I recognized almost all of them, but not all of them. In short, Nibley had amassed a great amount of information to study what was a fairly obscure religious celebration in ancient Rome. In it, once a year the Romans would gather together and celebrate the New Year. And then once a generation—technically every 100 years, but in practice every 110 to make sure no one was alive from the previous generation—they would hold the granddaddy of the New Year at celebrations, which they called the *Ludi Saeculares*, or “the Games of the Age.”⁴ Brother Nibley was very interested in that: he wrote a dissertation that looked at every single aspect of the games, how they were celebrated, why they were celebrated, where they were celebrated, and, most importantly, what the role of the king was in these games.

Now, I had read before what Brother Nibley had written about the significance of the dying king, ritual combat, and the role of the king at New Year, so immediately my interest was piqued, knowing that what he wrote about as late as the '60s and '70s was something he had been studying back in the 1930s. Now, without boring you with any more details about his dissertation, I want to share with you the impression that I had as I surveyed it because there were some very characteristic features of Nibleyan writing, if I can coin the term.

His dissertation, written back in 1939, already manifested three features of his writing style and approach that we will see in all of his writing as we walk through his scholarship between that dissertation and the end of his life. It was reading his later works, including and especially his devotional works, that helped me understand why these three characteristics are so prominent in Nibley's work.

First of all, in terms of content, *Nibley's writing consistently manifested the amazing breadth and depth of his erudition, his learning, his scholarship.* Now, to a certain degree, most of us can fake it, because if we know a lot about a little, we can sound really smart. Take it from me—this has almost become my own *modus operandi*. By saying or writing a lot about a few things, or a few things about a lot of different things, your audience or readers will assume that you know what you're talking about. In his discussion of the Roman New Year games, Nibley would digress and add details of similar celebrations from Icelandic sagas. His breadth was amazing. Now, usually people who have a lot of breadth don't necessarily have a lot of depth, or they rightly have a depth in their emphasis areas but not breadth in other areas.

So I expected depth in his treatment of Roman material because that was his focus, but his depth was everywhere, including all of his disparate comparative material. So, in terms of content, a consistent feature of Nibley's writing, in both his classical and other scholarship, was both breadth and depth of erudition.

The second feature of his writing that was already present in his dissertation was *his methodology*. What he did in his later works was present already in 1939—*namely, a very pronounced comparative approach*. And when I refer to his comparative

approach, I see it as something that grew naturally out of the breadth of his scholarship. He looked at different cultures at different time periods and drew comparisons.

Because of this comparative approach, one name I was surprised did *not* show up in Nibley's bibliography was Sir James George Frazer. He lived between 1854 and 1941 and wrote a book called *The Golden Bough*.⁵ This title was taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*, book 6, where Aeneas and the Sibyl were about to go into the Underworld. In order to be able to get into the Underworld and come back, they had to find a magical golden bough from a sacred tree in a sacred grove. Plucking it and bearing it before them, they were able to safely enter the world of the dead. In Greek this kind of entry to and return from the Underworld was called a *katabasis*, literally "a going down," and all of the greatest Greek heroes did this, symbolizing that their greatest feat was overcoming death.

In *The Golden Bough* Frazer compared this Greek and Roman motif with the religious practices of dozens of different societies, demonstrating that the idea of dying and then overcoming death was common in all of them. Getting into the Underworld was not the challenge: we all do it because we all die. Coming back is the problem, and one of the things that Frazer found was that in all these cultures, particularly in the Near East, in the Mediterranean, an essential figure in this process was the dying king, whose death somehow conquered death itself.

While I cannot demonstrate the direct influence of Frazer on Nibley, another comparativist who did show up in his bibliography was Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928).⁶ She was a member of the so-called Cambridge Ritual School, a group of scholars at Cambridge in England, shortly after Frazer, who followed his comparative approach but focused on ritual acts that are found across many cultures that serve as the foundation of myth and other aspects of culture. What Harrison and the others in the Cambridge School did was to look at different cultures and examine their religious rituals and mythology and find their similarities, which in their view represented some kind of basic human pattern.

This was something that Nibley frequently did, often with abandon, which was something for which he was criticized. Even his coreligionists and admirers have observed that he is sometimes

guilty of what some would call parallelomania.⁷ Just because we find something in all these different cultures, can we prove or demonstrate a connection? Because so much of Brother Nibley's work is based on this mastery, his control, of so many disparate literary traditions, Bill Hamblin has said that Nibley's methodology consists more of comparative literature than history because what he is comparing is the texts of these different cultures.⁸ Necessarily there must be a certain amount of selectivity in this approach, but selecting only examples that support one's thesis means that one might be leaving out counterexamples, and this was arguably Brother Nibley's pattern.⁹

So, we've mentioned Nibley's content and his methodology. *The third feature is his style.* Because I am more of a historian than an expert in literature and literary form, I may not be particularly competent to characterize his style. But my impression as I have read through many of Nibley's works is his style is much like his classes I've described. He went from one to another, and whatever was on his mind was what he talked about. *As I have thought about how to describe his writing style, the best way I can describe it is Herodotean.*

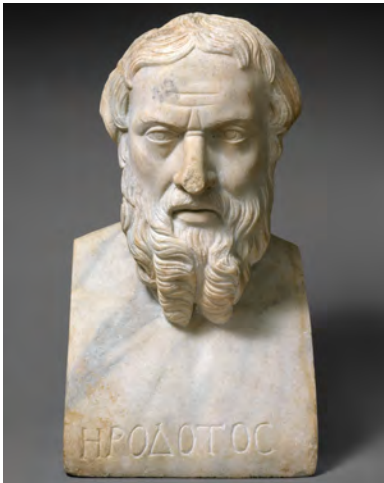


Figure 5. Herodotus.³³

Now, that calls for some explanation. Herodotus was a fifth-century BC Greek historiographer. He is often called the father of history, but I am going to clarify that and say that he was the father of Greek historiography because clearly the author of the Deuteronomistic History anticipated Herodotus. But in the classical tradition, Herodotus is known for his wonderful storytelling. Now, I know we don't often think of Brother Nibley as a storyteller,

but I would say that he was. He was telling a great story in his writing, the story of the good news. He was telling the story of the gospel and how it was found in every age and in every culture.

But that aside and ignoring the flaw in my comparison, Nibley seems to have been fond of what in Herodotean studies we call ring composition. As Herodotus was going from point A to E, he would digress and describe points B, C, and D. He would go from one digression to another and eventually (hopefully) come back to his main point, and ideally those digressions helped explain or illustrate what he was trying to prove. But he always came back to where he started, and he always ended up where he wanted to be. So, Nibley embraced a Herodotean style with frequent digressions—not truly digressions because they were always supportive of what he was doing. Perhaps better forays, plumbing the depths to find supporting pieces of evidence, yet always resulting in relatively simple conclusions. Accordingly, the conclusion to his 235-page dissertation was a mere page and a half, laying out five simple propositions.

He did this instinctively, amassing a huge amount of material drawn from numerous cultures and models and encased in seeming digressions, and then reducing it to relatively simple conclusions. If we had time, we could sample some of these “digressions.” We could look at his comparisons of the *Ludi Saeculares* to the Feast of Tabernacles on page 47. Or, while we are talking about parallelomania, we could look at chapter 5 of his dissertation, where he took thirty-five pages to talk about every kind of ritual contest in the world, starting with Iceland and then returning to his subject at hand, the Roman games, which he did in a mere three pages.

Classics and Nibley’s Subsequent Publications

Continuing on to look at his teaching career, after getting his degree, Nibley took a post at the Claremont Colleges in Southern California and was there from 1939 to 1942, teaching a wide number of subjects, including ancient languages, history, and philosophy. This teaching appointment is significant for the subject at hand because it was the period of two professional presentations and one short article.

At this point in his career, his professional work was strictly academic, strictly professional. At the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association’s meeting in Stanford in 1940, he gave a paper called “The Origin of the Roman Dole.”¹⁰ The dole was

the practice in the late Republic and then of course in the Imperial Period, where the Roman government handed out grain at reduced prices, sometimes free. Nibley had first addressed this practice in his dissertation, noting that the New Year king—and subsequent rulers of Rome and elsewhere—had, as one of his responsibilities, the role of being “the giver of good gifts,” taking care of his people, which included providing them with bread, if you will.¹¹

Nibley also gave a paper at the Southwest Archaeological Foundation at its meeting in San Diego on a Roman practice called *acclamatio*, which is the practice of the Roman mobs proclaiming the emperor or proclaiming a victorious general an emperor. This also was derived from his dissertation.

It was in this period that in 1941 he published his first article in a fairly prestigious journal, a second-tier journal called the *Classical Journal*. It was, however, a strange little piece called “New Light on Scaliger.”¹² Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), a Swiss scholar, was a polymath who began as a classicist but expanded his study to all of the ancient world. Brother Nibley wrote over four pages of “notes,” excavating odd little details about Scaliger, the proper pronunciation of his name, his titles, and especially his linguistic prowess. Nibley exulted in pursuing every little Greek and Latin reference and explored Scaliger’s use of other languages, notably Arabic, noting, for instance, a portrait of Scaliger in which he is penning something upside down in Arabic. This kind of detail was interesting to Nibley because Nibley, too, was a polyglot, and Arabic was, in addition to Greek and Latin, one of the languages that he controlled.

Between 1942 and 1945, Brother Nibley served in the military during World War II. Toward the end of his service, while he was still in the military, he published perhaps his most important article



Figure 6. Joseph Justus Scaliger.³⁴

in the field of classical studies, once again in *Classical Journal*.¹³ Again he derived much of the substance of this article from his dissertation and had begun writing it while still at Claremont. Interestingly, at the end of the article, where an author's name and academic institution usually appear, he listed, "Hugh Nibley, the United States Army." This amused me because even though he may have started it while still working at a university, the final piece had 132 footnotes to really obscure ancient texts, and it was hard to picture how he was carrying all these references around combat zones, such as the storming of Normandy and the like.

This article was about *sparsiones*, which is Latin for "distributions," literally "casting things out." This was a Roman practice where at special events like birthdays and the New Year, a Roman figure such as a king or a triumphant general was expected to just throw out gifts to the gathered crowds: pieces of bread, little tokens, sweetmeats, little gifts, gold coins. Again, this goes back to Nibley's dissertation, where he saw the origin of the practice in the New Year king's role as the giver of all good gifts. While it still has moments of Herodotean or characteristic Nibleyan digressions, it was a very well-written article, holding up well to other classical publications and employing good, standard methodologies.

Still, as was his hallmark throughout his career, this article was certainly comparative. In it he looked at a number of other cultures, arguing that they subscribed to the same idea or expectation that the king, as the father of his people, was supposed to take care of them. Among these comparisons were some to incidents in the Bible, revealing if not Nibley's personal faith, certainly his familiarity with it and his acceptance of it as a legitimate historical source. For instance, on page 532, Nibley refers to manna, describing it as Yahweh "throwing bread out to his people." Because it was not always practical to throw out actual food, which might go bad or be damaged as it was tossed, one practice in Roman *sparsiones* was to throw out instead little tokens called *tesserae*, which could be exchanged later for actual good or gift baskets. Nibley had discussed *tesserae* at length in his dissertation,¹⁴ and in this article, on page 539, Brother Nibley wrote how these *tesserae* were similar to Revelation 2:17, where everyone receives a white stone with his name on it, which allows him "to eat of the hidden manna."

The conclusion of this article reads like a summation of Nibley's comparative method: "The multiple aspects of the institution fit nicely together and may be matched in every point with practices of other peoples, the same peculiar elements appearing in the same complex combinations."¹⁵

After his return from the military and before he was duly employed again, in 1946, Nibley wrote a little booklet, which many of you are familiar with, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History*,¹⁶ which of course was an answer to Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*, her psychological critique of Joseph Smith. Seated firmly in what would later be called Mormon studies, this apologetic work did not draw on Nibley's classical training at all, but it brought him to the attention of people such as John A. Widtsoe, and he was convinced to apply for a job at BYU, where he taught from 1946 to 1975.

We can break this part of his career into two periods, before and after a sabbatical that he took at Berkeley in 1959 and 1960. As we read Petersen's biography and then look at Nibley's publication record and analyze what he wrote before and what he wrote afterward, it becomes clear that that year at Berkeley was a pivotal turning point for him.

Before he went to Berkeley on sabbatical, he wrote a number of pieces that appeared in the classical bibliography appended to the end of this discussion. I will mention the three I found the most significant, but only one of them I think is strictly classical. First, in 1949 he wrote an article titled "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State,"¹⁷ which is a fascinating piece about how nomads from the north, identifiable by their characteristically marked arrows, migrated down into Mesopotamia and imposed themselves on the agriculturalists already living there. While very interesting, his arguments, to me at least, were a little speculative. And it was not strictly classical other than a few references to Greek and Roman practices in Greek and Latin texts. Rather, it was more of an ancient Near Eastern studies piece, and it appeared in a regional journal called *Western Political Quarterly*. While it is a peer-reviewed venue, this is a publication of the University of Utah's Political Science Department, not a classical journal and not one that necessarily would have had reviewers well versed in classical or ancient Near Eastern studies.

Then in 1951 he wrote a piece titled “The Hierocentric State,”¹⁸ which again drew upon his dissertation. This, too, appeared in *Western Political Quarterly* and hence locally and not in a journal specific to the ancient world. Still, many of his ideas here are fairly well known to readers of Nibley’s works, appearing particularly in the volume *The Ancient State* of Nibley’s collected works.¹⁹ This article was not strictly a work in classical studies, and it represents what classics as a field was for much of the rest of his career—just one of many resources that he drew upon. He continued to reference Greek and Roman practices and draw upon Greek and Latin sources, but the field is mostly a means to an end. It is only one, though an important one, of many cultural traditions that he used in his wide-ranging comparative efforts.

However, Nibley published an article in 1956 in *Western Speech*, another regional journal, but this time in the field of speech and rhetoric, headquartered in Portland, Oregon. Again, I note that while peer-reviewed, the reviewers were not necessarily classicists, but it was significant and well rooted in classics. Titled “*Victoriosa Loquacitas*: The Rise of Rhetoric and the Decline of Everything Else,”²⁰ at twenty-five pages it is a substantial article. *Victoriosa Loquacitas* means “victorious eloquence,” but it is not so much about rhetoric as it is about epistemology—that is, how we know what we know.

In this piece Nibley walks the reader through three phases of Greek epistemology. He proposes that the earliest phase is what he calls “the mantic worldview.” From the Greek word *mantis* for “prophet,” the mantic worldview holds that there is absolute, unchanging truth, but we can’t arrive at it on our own. It needs to be revealed to us. Nibley proposes that the Greeks were, originally, a mantic society that believed in revealed truth.

The prophets were followed, and largely replaced, by the *Sophoi* or “wise men.” The Greek word for “wisdom” is *Sophia*, and the *Sophoi*, like the Seven Sages of the Archaic Age, were men who did not throw away prophets and revelation. They were simply so naturally or intuitively brilliant that they came upon wisdom on their own. But you cannot really teach this kind of wisdom; some are simply naturally gifted or inclined to it. This embrace of truth,

as discovered by mortals through their own intelligence, Nibley termed “the sophic worldview.”

The problem was in the next intellectual phase, which began with the rise of sophistry. Rather than having truth revealed to them or naturally coming to wisdom on their own, the Sophists freely created “truth.” Their name comes from *sophistēs*, which literally means “one who created or made up wisdom,” or wisdom so-called. The Sophists were professional teachers, the first professors if you will, who were paid to teach what they knew, and the most prominent of them taught rhetoric, the art of speaking and writing persuasively. And frequently this was rhetoric in a negative sense, used, as Protagoras, one of its practitioners, once said, “to make the weaker argument the stronger.” Whereas the *Sophoi* were champions of absolute, unchanging truth, the Sophists were derided as being morally relativistic, sometimes using their rhetorical skills to the detriment of truth. For Nibley, this “sophistic worldview” was dangerous.

In our modern society we are not as familiar, at least consciously, of rhetoric, so it is harder for us to get a bead on it. Arguably rhetoric today is in an abysmal state. For our politicians to speak persuasively to us, they (a) lie to us, (b) tell us what we want to hear, or (c) talk in short sound bites, giving snippets that the evening news can easily report. But in the ancient world, one persuaded others by speaking intelligently and cleverly and beautifully.

Now, as Latter-day Saints, we have fairly recent examples of rhetoric used for good ends that might help us understand what good persuasive and pleasing speech was. Elder Maxwell, for instance, was a great example of well-crafted speaking. Whether or not you appreciated his fondness for alliteration, he was, beyond a doubt, a wordsmith. The reason that he was not a sophist was because it wasn’t just about *how* he spoke, but it was *what* he spoke. His content was true and meaningful, and the way he spoke simply accented it. The depth of what he was saying was more important than how he said it. Similarly, President Hinckley was a good rhetorician. He was, in fact, classically trained, having majored in English and minored in classics. His style, using classical categories, was what was called middle rhetoric—not too ornate

and not too simple. One of his favorite rhetorical devices was what is called the partitive genitive in Greek, which is like the partitive in French. One does not have milk; rather, one has *du lait*, or some “of milk.” President Hinckley loved this construction and would often say something along the lines of “There is much of good in the world . . .”

The examples of Elder Maxwell and President Hinckley illustrate that the art of persuasion when used for good ends is a positive thing. The problem was when the Greek Sophists used it for any end whatsoever. And in this article, Nibley reflected at some length on the example of Protagoras, who said that he could make the weaker argument the stronger. He could speak so persuasively that he could argue anything and make his listeners believe it. Protagoras is also supposedly the one who said man is the measure of all things, thereby introducing the idea of moral relativism into Western culture—that there’s not absolute truth or absolute good, but it’s whatever we want or whatever is important to us.

For Nibley, the rise of sophistry—and in many ways its triumph in the ancient world and its current sway in our own—was the end of truth. Because he was writing in a professional journal, he didn’t make any overt religious references, yet to us there is a clear Latter-day Saint subtext. His argument in this article, which I feel was better than any of his previous work, equates to the ongoing spiritual warfare between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, that has been raging since the beginning. When he writes about how philosophy plus rhetoric equals sophistry, or he talks about how sophistry misleads people, I immediately think of Book of Mormon anti-Christes and how often they’re described as using flattering words to mislead the people.

In “*Victoriosa Loquacitas*” Nibley also gave a hint of some things he would do in some later professional publications, not in classics but in Christian and Jewish publications. For instance, on page 72 he noted how postapostolic Christianity gave rhetoric a new lease on life. It is probably not insignificant that just a year and a half after this very interesting article, he wrote the following in a letter to a man named Paul Springer: “I have got some important communication from some big shots in the business, but none of them were in response to any of my Gentile exertions, which were

merely written to set the stage for the other stuff.”²¹ Parsing that sentence takes some effort, but Nibley seems to have meant that professionals knew about him and were interested in his work, important people. But what was important to him was not “the Gentile exertions”—that is, the stuff for the professional journals. Instead, what he had written and studied up to that point merely set the stage for his more meaningful work.

Now, the year after he made that comment to Springer, during the academic year of 1959–60, Nibley went on a sabbatical at Berkeley, and some important things came out of that year. He wrote an article called “Christian Envy of the Temple,” which appeared in *Jewish Quarterly*, an international journal. While not strictly a classical publication, it revealed the trajectory that Nibley’s work was going to go. Further, according to Petersen’s biography, at the end of that year, he was invited to stay on and join the faculty at Berkeley, but Nibley declined and returned to BYU, where he only taught scripturally related classes from that time on.²²

While this is reading a lot between the lines, it seemed that during his sabbatical at Berkeley, Nibley weighed the more strictly academic world and found it wanting. He had spent a year at one of the foremost universities in the country, he met many interesting and important people, he had done all this research. Yet he came back to BYU more convinced than ever that what really mattered was the gospel, the scriptures, the Restoration.

After he returned to Provo, he wrote a few things for some significant journals, but only a few were even notionally classical. He had, to borrow a phrase, chosen Jerusalem over Athens. His work turned increasingly to the history—and eclipse—of the original church of Christ. In 1960 he published “Christian Envy of the Temple”;²³ in 1961, “The Passing of the Church: Forty Variations of an Unpopular Theme”;²⁴ and in 1966, a substantial piece on the forty-day ministry of Jesus Christ after his resurrection.²⁵

In 1963 he went to Yale and returned, in a sense, to the classical world of his early training. And while there he revisited the issue of rhetoric and sophistry in Greece while speaking to a Latter-day Saint student group at Yale in a series called the Deseret Lectures. Recalling and expanding his arguments from his 1956 article “Victoriosa Loquacitas,” he gave a weighty address entitled “Three

Shrines: Mantic, Sophic, and Sophistic (The Confrontation of Greek and Christian Religiosity),” which has been reproduced in volume 10 of his collected works.²⁶ Again it considered what had happened in ancient Greece epistemologically—how Greece had changed its understanding of what was true and how truth could be learned, moving from a mantic or revealed worldview to a sophistic worldview.

Nibley’s arguments have informed, or shaped, my own teaching, beginning with my understanding of some classical literature and now extending into my teaching of religion. As was the case with my exposure to Nibley’s personality, much of it was in fact derivative, coming through his students. Let me share one anecdote. In 1989 I was serving as a teaching assistant for John Hall’s Classical Civ 110 course, and we were studying Sophocles. That semester John taught a particular interpretation of *Oedipus the King* that I hadn’t heard before but now know came from Nibley.

To briefly recount the basic story of *Oedipus the King*, Oedipus was the king of Thebes, who had been raised elsewhere as a foundling. As a young man he had returned to Thebes, although he did not realize that it was his place of birth, and in the process had killed Laius, the previous king who was his actual father, and married Jocasta, Laius’s wife, who Oedipus did not realize was actually his mother! This is all the nasty backstory, which later provided Freud so much material. In the play itself, which is a model tragedy, Oedipus is the new king of Thebes and needs to deal with a plague, which has fallen upon the city because of the twin sins of parricide and incest, though Oedipus did not commit either of those knowingly. Although these actions are tragic by our standards, Oedipus’s ignorance of them meant that they were not the tragic mistake that drives the plot of the play.

According to Aristotle, it is not some kind of tragic flaw, a much later Renaissance concept, or an ignorant mistake or something that happened in the past that makes a play a tragedy. Rather, it is a character’s *hamartia*, or mistake in judgment, that brings about the tragic results. As a result, it was not Oedipus’s earlier killing of his father nor his unknowingly marrying his mother that was his tragic mistake. Instead, it was his rashly calling down a curse upon whoever was responsible for the plague despite the warnings

of the prophet Teiresias. “Whoever is responsible for this pollution, I don’t even care if he lives in my own home or at my own hearth,” Oedipus declares, “let him be accursed. May he never see anything good again.”



Figure 7. Having tragically rejected prophetic wisdom, Oedipus gouged out his eyes in despair.³⁵

The prophet Teiresias tries to stop Oedipus, telling him that he does not know what he is doing, but Oedipus roundly reviles him, mocking him for discerning truth through the flights of birds or the shapes of the livers of sacrificial animals. On top of it all, Teiresias is blind. How can he “see” what the truth is? Now, almost all commentators recognize that Oedipus’s rejection of the prophet is his mistake in judgment, but Nibley and Hall

took this a step further. Because of Oedipus’s reputation for being clever—he had earlier defeated a sphinx that had been plaguing Thebes—and his skill in speaking, they saw him as a model Sophist.

So how Nibley presented the play in the Yale lecture series was as a paradigmatic between the mantic worldview, represented by Teiresias, and the sophistic worldview, represented by Oedipus. Nibley took this idea, so powerfully illustrated in classical tragedy, and found the motif everywhere—in the literature and myth of other cultures, in scripture, and, ominously, in our own day. Nibley’s interpretation of Sophocles’s play may not have been, in fact, that unique, but his recognition of a religious truth, one which was a dilemma that the Restoration addressed, was an example of how he drew upon classics and all of the ancient world to further gospel ends.

Nibley’s interpretation, as I learned it from Hall, has been the way I have taught *Oedipus the King* ever since. It even influenced my own 1990 graduation address in the College of Humanities, where I addressed the conflict between Christian and secular humanism, echoing Nibley’s commitment to a mantic, or prophetic,

epistemology and worldview. But more than that, it was part of Nibley's wider example of using his academic training, linguistic skills, and historical knowledge as part of his single-minded championing of gospel truth. This is an example which shaped my teachers, me, and so many of you here.

A Final Assessment of Nibley's Scholarship, Classical and Otherwise

Nibley's Deseret Lectures at Yale University in 1963 were the last truly classical pieces of scholarship that I could find in his vita. He has some fine work in serious journals such as *Jewish Quarterly* in the field of religious studies and an occasional piece of historical interest such as his 1966 article entitled "Tenting, Toll, and Taxing."²⁷ For the most part, after his 1959–60 sabbatical, just as his teaching focused squarely on the scriptures, so his publications were largely meant for home consumption. Essays, chapters, articles in Church magazines, books, and addresses all brought his broad and deep erudition to bear on helping Latter-day Saints understand history and better see how the gospel and all truth fit together in one great whole. From a purely academic, professional, secular point of view, one would say that his best work was before 1960. From a gospel perspective, we would say it was after that year when he chose to give his all to the kingdom.

Classics, of course, continued to be part of his work. Classical sources and literature continued to be one of the several substrates upon which he drew. Every other culture was as well, but it was never again his focus. Nevertheless, those characteristics that we can discern in his clearly classical dissertation in terms of his content, methodology, and style continued even in his later, more religiously focused works: his breadth and depth of knowledge; a comparative, exploiting parallelism wherever he could find it; and a wide-ranging style, prone to digressions. Yet I am beginning to believe that each of these features was actually driven by his deep-seated religious convictions, convictions that became ever more patent in his later works.

So, reviewing those three areas again, I think we can make some suggestions as to their spiritual motivation. We've mentioned that his content is characterized by erudition, both breadth and depth.

Today I looked up two passages in the Doctrine and Covenants, which I thought reflected Brother Nibley very well. We're told in Doctrine and Covenants 90:15, "Study and learn, and become acquainted with all good books, with languages, tongues, and people." Similarly, Doctrine and Covenants 93:53 enjoins, "Obtain a knowledge of history, and of countries, and of kingdoms, of laws of God and man, and all this for the salvation of Zion." Of course, we're not Hugh Nibley, and few of us have those mental or linguistic gifts. But each of us at our own level, with whatever abilities the Lord has given us, are supposed to be studying and learning these things. And I think that was the drive he had, to learn everything he could about languages and books and cultures and people.

His methodology—a comparative approach that bordered on parallelomania—earned him some criticism, some of which was justified. Part of this approach, I think, was driven by a real conviction that the human family was exactly that, the human family. He believed we are all descended from Adam and Eve, so this kind of comparative approach worked for Brother Nibley because he believed the Mesopotamians and the Norsemen and the Greeks and everyone came from the same source. So it made sense in his mind that if they had similar practices, rituals, and beliefs, they came from a common ancestor.

And while this is not an academic methodology, there was another driving factor for Nibley. If something was true, it was true. He had the big picture, the whole plan, and he believed it, so it was natural for him to take bits of evidence and fit them into the rubric he already had. Sometimes when you know the truth, you look and you recognize it when you see it. This of course led to the charge that he could be selective with the evidence, focusing only on those pieces that confirmed what he was trying to prove. Yet because he knew what to look for whenever he saw those pieces of evidence, when he saw seemingly confirming patterns in these different cultures, he immediately, with his gospel foundation, said, "That's the truth."

This is certainly not an approach that works in a professional journal. It is perhaps a homiletic, not an academic, argument. Yet this approach can certainly be testimony-inspiring, and what weighed on me and made me more sympathetic to Nibley's approach

was my own Christology. Like many of you, I am convinced that everything in the gospel and everything in our lives is pointing us to the Savior. Hugh Nibley certainly believed that. He knew that.

So even in his early works, even in his dissertation, I propose that Hugh Nibley saw Jesus everywhere, even if he described him differently. He was not evangelical in his style, and his sometimes meandering writing and speaking style reflected the way he himself learned. The old story of him starting at one corner of the library and reading one book after another until he reached the other corner reflected not only his insatiable desire for knowledge, I suspect it reflected how the spirit led him, line upon line, precept upon precept, until he had amassed an amazing whole.

When we look back at his examination of the Roman New Year king in his dissertation and all of these things that he had in common with the Cambridge Ritual School, would we be saying too much to suggest that these things intrigued him because he saw parallels with Jesus? He was intrigued by the king who died for his people and returned, the King who is the giver of all good gifts, the one who showered bread upon his people from heaven, who was the source of life. Who here doubts that Brother Nibley may well have had Jesus Christ in mind?

If so, he saw in each of those cultures a type or an anticipation of the Savior. Again, in terms of his style, his digressive, detailed explorations of all these different topics within the same argument all resulted in fairly simple conclusions. I wonder whether Brother Nibley had as his motivation that the gospel consists of, comprises, and embraces all truth. All is fair game. All is important. We should all have the goal to circumscribe all knowledge into one whole. And yet the ends of the gospel and its purposes are simple. He proposed that we look at all history and all cultures and all languages and all art and draw from them simple conclusions that point to lasting truths.

God lives. Jesus is the Christ. We are his children. There's a plan for us. Could it have been that simple for him?

A Concluding Personal Reflection

I have a couple of personal reflections that I would like to share with you as I close this discussion tonight. As I mentioned at

the beginning, other than a couple of later, chance meetings, my personal interaction with Hugh Nibley was limited to a single class in a single semester. But several of his students not only shepherded me into my own study of classics, they also passed on his passion for learning and, above all, a burning commitment to the truth of the gospel.

After graduating from BYU with a double major in classical Greek and Latin in 1990, I went to the University of Pennsylvania, where I studied Greek and Roman history. I had the good fortune to return to BYU with a teaching appointment in 1994, and from 1994 to 2003, I taught classics. Yet much as Nibley's 1959–60 experience at Berkeley led him to turn from classics to full-time teaching of the scriptures and writing about the gospel, I had an experience in 2003, which changed the course of my career.

Now, I'm no Hugh Nibley. I do not have and never will have his gifts, and I will make a much smaller impact than he did. But my professional direction changed when Richard Holzapfel and Thomas Wayment asked me to write a chapter on the Roman trial of Jesus for a collection they were editing on the final hours of the Savior's life.²⁸ Like Brother Nibley's early works, this started as a very classical piece. It started out as a very historical piece, focusing on Roman legal process. I worked on it for several weeks, but the night before it was due, it felt wrong. I had written twenty or thirty pages but hit a writer's block and felt that it was all wrong. Somewhat in despair, I decided to take a break and read from the Book of Mormon to clear my head. As I flipped through its pages, time after time I found prophecies of Nephi and Jacob about the passion of our Lord. How he would be spit upon and beaten and smitten and scarred and would die for us. Suddenly I realized that scholarship without a soul was empty, and with new inspiration I rewrote that article. I maintained all the Roman historical legal material, but I used Book of Mormon passages about the necessity of the Savior's suffering to frame it and give it purpose.

After that chapter was completed, I remember thinking clearly, "This is what I really want to do." And so I gave up a field that I loved for something I loved better. Boyd Petersen entitled the biography of his father-in-law *A Consecrated Life*. Brother Nibley devoted all the skills he had, including his classical background,



Figure 8. “Whatever gifts and skills and knowledge God gives us are to be used in his service.”³⁶

for a greater end. Living a consecrated life does not always mean that we are going to teach or write about religion and build faith in explicit ways. The Lord has different ends for each of us. For one it may be to be the best engineer and to another it may be to be the best mother or the best schoolteacher or the best artist that one can be. Yet the concept of consecration that Brother Nibley so exemplified is something we can all strive to attain. Whatever gifts and skills and knowledge God gives us are to be used in his service.

Sometimes this might mean that we change course in the middle of life. Other times it means that we stay the same course throughout our life. In the end, these are *his* gifts and *his* talents. When we consecrate them to him, we’re not giving them to him, we’re simply returning to him what he gave us. I have a testimony of this. I have a testimony of a good God who loves us and gives each of us different gifts, who gave us through his son, Jesus, the command to love and serve one another.

Hugh Nibley's "Classical" Publications Arranged Chronologically

As I have argued, some of these pieces are only notionally classical, though in most Nibley uses his facility in Greek and Latin and employs evidence from the Greek and Roman worlds.

"The Freight Train," *Lyric West* 5, no. 5 (1926): 171.

"The Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic Year-Cult" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1939).

"New Light on Scaliger," *Classical Journal* 37, no. 5 (1941): 291-95.

"Sparsiones," *Classical Journal* 40, no. 9 (June 1945): 515-43.

"The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," *Western Political Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1949): 328-44.

"The Christmas Quest," *Millennial Star* 112, no. 1 (January 1950): 4-5.

Review of *The Ancient World*, by Joseph W. Swain, in *The Historian* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1951): 79-81.

"The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (1951): 226-53.

Review of *History of Syria: Including Lebanon and Palestine*, by Philip K. Hitti, in *Western Political Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (June 1952): 312-13.

Review of *Near Eastern Culture and Society: A Symposium on the Meeting of East and West*, ed. T. Cuyler Young, in *Western Political Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (June 1952): 315-16.

"The Unsolved Loyalty Problem: Our Western Heritage," *Western Political Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1953): 631-57.

"Do History and Religion Conflict?," in *Great Issues Forum*, Series 2 (Religion), no. 5 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, Extension Division, 1955), 22-39.

"Victoriosa Loquacitas: The Rise of Rhetoric and the Decline of Everything Else," *Western Speech* 20, no. 2 (Spring 1956): 57-82.

Review of *The Torment of Secrecy: The Background and Consequences of American Security Policies*, by Edward A. Shils, in *The American Political Science Review* 50, no. 3 (September 1956): 887-88.

"Christian Envy of the Temple," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 50, no. 2 (October 1959): 97-123; 50, no. 3 (January 1960): 229-40.

- “The Passing of the Church: Forty Variations on an Unpopular Theme,” *Church History* 30, no. 2 (June 1961): 131–54.
- “Three Shrines: Mantic, Sophic, and Sophistic (The Confrontation of Greek and Christian Religiosity),” Deseret Lectures, Sterling Library Lecture Hall, Yale University, May 1–3, 1963.
- “Qumran and the Companions of the Cave,” *Revue de Qumran* 5, no. 2 (1965): 177–98.
- “Evangelium Quadraginta Dierum: The Forty-Day Mission of Christ—The Forgotten Heritage,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 20, no. 1 (1966): 1–24.
- “Tenting, Toll, and Taxing,” *Western Political Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (December 1966): 599–630.
- “The Mormon View of the Book of Mormon,” *Concilium: An International Review of Theology* 10 (December 1967): 82–83.
- “Jerusalem: In Christianity,” in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 9:1568–75.
- “Beyond Politics,” *BYU Studies* 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1974): 3–28.
- “Acclamatio (Never Cry Mob),” in *Toward a Humanistic Science of Politics: Essays in Honor of Francis Dunham Wormuth*, ed. Dalmas H. Nelson and Richard L. Sklar (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1983), 11–22.

Note that several of these essays are found in *The Ancient State: The Rulers and the Ruled* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: FARMS, 1991). Additionally, some classical materials are found in *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987).

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Notes

1. See Spencer W. Kimball, "The False Gods We Worship," *Ensign*, June 1976, 3ff.
2. See Boyd Jay Petersen, *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002).
3. See Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, 3 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1945).
4. Lilly Ross Taylor, "Secular Games," in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 969–70.
5. See James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1890).
6. Nibley cited Harrison's *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912).
7. For the term itself, see S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 1–13; for a critique of Nibley as being guilty of parallelomania, see, for instance, Kent P. Jackson, review of *Old Testament and Related Studies* by Hugh Nibley, *BYU Studies* 28, no. 4 (1988): 114–19; Todd Compton, review of *Lehi in the Desert* by Hugh Nibley, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 1, no. 1 (1989): 114–18; Douglas F. Salmon, "Parallelomania and the Study of Latter-day Scripture: Confirmation, Coincidence, or the Collective Unconscious?," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 2 (2000): 130–35.
8. See William J. Hamblin, "Time Vindicates Hugh Nibley," *FARMS Review of Books* 2, no. 1 (1990): 126–27. See also Hamblin, "Joseph or Jung?," 523–44 (this volume). For a discussion of the excesses and correctives of comparative analysis with a recent, detailed application to Moses 1, a text treated previously by Nibley and others, see Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, David J. Larsen, and Stephen T. Whitlock. "Moses 1 and the Apocalypse of Abraham: Twin Sons of Different Mothers?," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 38 (2020): 179–290. <https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/moses-1-and-the-apocalypse-of-abraham-twin-sons-of-different-mothers/>.
9. See Salmon, "Parallelomania," 135–38.

10. See "Program of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association," *Pacific Historical Review* 9, no. 4 (December 1940): 515.
11. Hugh Nibley, "The Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic Year-Cult" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1939), 56–90.
12. See Hugh Nibley, "New Light on Scaliger," *Classical Journal* 37, no. 5 (1941): 291–95; reprinted in Hugh Nibley, *The Ancient State: The Rules and the Ruled* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: FARMS, 1991), 303–10.
13. See Hugh Nibley, "Sparsiones," *Classical Journal* 40, no. 9 (June 1945): 515–43; reprinted in Nibley, *Ancient State*, 148–94.
14. See Nibley, "Roman Games," 97–124.
15. Nibley, "Sparsiones," 164.
16. See Hugh Nibley, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History: A Brief Review of Mrs. Brodie's Reluctant Vindication of a Prophet She Seeks to Expose* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946); reprinted in Nibley, *Tinkling Cymbals and Sounding Brass*, 1–45.
17. See Hugh Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," *Western Political Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1949): 328–44; reprinted in Nibley, *Ancient State*, 1–32.
18. See Hugh Nibley, "The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (1951): 226–53; reprinted in Nibley, *Ancient State*, 99–147.
19. See Nibley, *Ancient State*.
20. See Hugh Nibley, "Victoriosa Loquacitas: The Rise of Rhetoric and the Decline of Everything Else," *Western Speech* 20, no. 2 (Spring 1956): 57–82; reprinted in Nibley, *Ancient State*, 243–86.
21. Hugh Nibley to Paul Springer, May 24, 1958, as quoted by Petersen, *Hugh Nibley*, 153.
22. Petersen, *Hugh Nibley*, 416.
23. See Hugh Nibley, "Christian Envy of the Temple," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 50, no. 2 (October 1959): 97–123; 50, no. 3 (January 1960): 229–40; reprinted in Hugh Nibley, *Mormonism and Early Christianity* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: FARMS, 1987), 391–434.
24. See Hugh Nibley, "The Passing of the Church: Forty Variations on an Unpopular Theme," *Church History* 30, no. 2 (June 1961): 131–54; reprinted as "The Passing of the Primitive Church," in Nibley, *Mormonism and Early Christianity*, 168–208.
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26. See Hugh Nibley, "Three Shrines: Mantic, Sophic, and Sophistic (The Confrontation of Greek and Christian Religiosity)," *Deseret Lectures*,

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27. See Hugh Nibley, “Tenting, Toll, and Taxing,” *Western Political Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (December 1966): 599–630; reprinted in Nibley, *Ancient State*, 33–98.
 28. See Eric D. Huntsman, “Christ before the Romans,” in *From the Last Supper through the Resurrection: The Savior’s Final Hours*, ed. Richard N. Holzapfel and Thomas A. Wayment (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 269–317.
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 30. From Eric D. Huntsman, “Nibley and Classical Scholarship” (The Work of Hugh Nibley Lecture Series), BYU Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship YouTube channel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4YjIq-k0PY>. Photo ID: Screen Shot 2021-01-21 at 6.35.10 AM.jpeg.
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 32. Though the dissertation was finished and signed in 1938, it was not registered until 1939. See Boyd Jay Petersen, *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life* (Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2002), 119n77. Photo ID: HN-DissertationTitlePage.jpg.
 33. Wikimedia Commons. Marble bust of Herodotus, 2nd century AD. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marble_bust_of_Herodotos_MET_DT11742.jpg. Photo ID: Marble_bust_of_Herodotos_MET_DT11742.jpg.
 34. Wikimedia Commons. Johannes Cornelisz van ‘t Woudt, Portrait of Josephus Justus Scaliger, ca. 1608–9. *Icones Leidenses* 31, Senate Room, Academy building, Leiden University. Having carefully analyzed the text Scaliger is writing, Kasper van Ommen concludes: “Judging from the red dots, the manuscript is most probably one of the six quarto fragments of the Koran in Scaliger’s possession. The fact that the manuscript is painted upside down is an indication that Scaliger was probably not present as sitter and that the portrait may even have been painted after his death in 1609” (“What Does an Oriental Scholar Look Like? Some Portraits of Joseph Scaliger and Other Sixteenth-Century Oriental Scholars: A Selection,” in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, ed. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing [Leiden: Brill, 2016], 83). <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:JJScaliger.jpg>. Photo ID: JJScaliger.png.
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